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ABSTRACT

Values about education held by private school educators tend to be those best suited to preparing their mostly middle- and upper-middle-class students for managerial and professional careers. Social scientists have hypothesized that schools readying students for social leadership will stress internalized student behavior norms instead of obedience and rule following. Questionnaires submitted to 20 administrators and 382 teachers at 20 eastern nonparochial private schools asked them to rank the most important qualities and goals that teachers and headmasters should have. The responses ranked knowledge and ability, dedication, kindness, high morality, and intellectual independence as better qualities for educators, and rapport with students, enhancement of student academic performance, and shaping of student morality as higher goals. Ranked much lower were the qualities of professional educational training and efficiency and the goals of adherence to school policy and well-organized lesson plans. Thus private school educators' favored role model for students emphasizes moral character and persuasion as values, rather than certification, efficiency, or coercion. These are considered to be internal behavior norms associated with professional and managerial classes. Limited data on public school educators' attitudes indicate they stress compliance and rule following, values that prepare students for working class occupations. (Author/RW)

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THE EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDES OF PRIVATE SCHOOL EDUCATORS

by

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August 1980

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ABSTRACT

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This paper examines the educational attitudes of 382 teachers and 20 administrators at 20 eastern private schools. Because many of these schools emphasize that their goal is to train leaders for society, the professional ideologies of private school educators are important to analyze, especially in the light of some evidence that middle class and upper middle class students are taught attitudes best suited to those who, in general, will assume society's managerial and professional positions. According to this line of argument, private school educators should stress student initiative, independence and dignity.

The sample of teachers and administrators responded to a variety of questions about their educational attitudes. A comparison between the attitudes of both groups is made and there is an analysis of teacher background characteristics as they relate to their educational attitudes. When available, the results of this survey are compared to the educational attitudes of public school teachers. The general findings indicate that this group of private school educators have a clear set of educational beliefs. Both teachers and administrators emphasize

a set of attitudes compatible with the role-model of the "dedicated amateur." Education courses are thought to be far less important for good teaching than dedication and morality. Teacher's independence of thought is stressed by both administrators and faculty. The implications of these findings are discussed and suggestions for further research are presented.

The Educational Attitudes of Private School Educators

> As a selection and training place of the upper classes, both old and new, the private school is a unifying influence, a force for the nationalization of the upper classes. The less important the pedigreed family becomes in the careful transmission of moral and cultural traits, the more important the private school. The school - rather than the upper class family - is the most important agency for transmitting the traditions of the upper social classes, and regulating the admission of new wealth and talent. It is the characterizing point in the upper class experience (Mills, 1959, 64-65).

How schools contribute to the process of cultural reproduction is a question that has intrigued many social scientists from a variety of theoretical and ideological perspectives (Parsons, 1959; Dreeben 1968; Bowles and

and Gintis, 1976; Persell, 1977). Some of these authors have argued that there is a correspondence between the type of education an individual receives and their place within the class structure. According to this argument, individuals from working class backgrounds receive educational experiences that prepare them for working class occupations; while middle class, upper-middle class and upper class students are socialized for their occupational destinations as managers, professionals and agents of symbolic control (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). To this way of thinking, schools culturally reproduce society by routing students into different occupations and, in the process, reproducing the consciousness upon which the social relations of production depend.

Stratified consciousness, as Bowles and Gintis put it, is composed of a number of different components, but individuals' attitudes towards authority is of utmost importance in determining their perceptions of the "inevitability" of the social structure within which they live. In Bowles and Gintis' view, "Working class schools tend to emphasize behavioral control and rule following while schools in well to do suburbs employ relatively open systems that favor greater student participation,

less direct supervision, more student electives and, in general, a value system stressing internalized standards of control (1976, 132)."

The position that schools' internal processes differ as they relate to authority relations according to the social class backgrounds of their students draws one towards an examination of how private schools, which primarily educate the children of affluent and sometimes influential parents, organize authority relations between school personnel and students. The Bowles and Gintis thesis would lead to the hypothesis that certain types of private schools should stress internalized norms of behavior since the private school social class constituency is generally quite wealthy and highly placed within the social structure (Baird, 1977; Kraushaar, 1972) and, moreover, the occupational destinations of most private school students are quite similar to their parents (Armstrong, 1974; Kraushaar, 1972). If private schools are as important in developing certain moral and cultural traits as Mills asserts they are, then an examination of the educational attitudes and professional ideologies of private school educators may illuminate how, if at all, private schools contribute to stratified consciousness.

At the risk of over simplifying, Kraushaar has summed up what he believes to be the professional ideology (although he does not use this phrase) of private school teachers:

> The profile of the independent private school teacher, emerging out of a welter of individual differences, is that of the dedicated amateur - a man or woman broadly educated in the humanistic liberal arts tradition, not highly specialized and but lightly burdened, if at all, with the pedagogical formalism of professional education (1972, 145).

Kraushaar goes on to say that the private school teacher, "tends to accept the traditional WASP moral and social standards," without explaining the content of these moral and social standards. In short, dedicated amateurism stresses character and intellectual development relatively free from the bureaucratic professionalism that is said to characterize the public education sector.

In this paper the role model that private school educators wish to present to students is examined. The hypothesis of this study is that private school educators will view themselves as essentially dedicated amateurs,

highly interested in the moral and intellectual development of their students. The internalization of individual morality will be emphasized over simple obedience because these schools, by their own admission, believe themselves to be training social leaders who will be some day, in part, responsible for the cultural and economic reproduction of the present society.

An examination of the professional ideology of private school educators may lead to a better understanding of the role model these educators wish to project to their students. The part that private school educators play in the cultural reproduction process has seldom been empirically examined, leaving a small, but potentially important, area of this general field unexplored.

The Data

The data for this research were collected from twenty non-parochial eastern private schools in the spring of 1978. As Table 1 indicates, the schools varied according to a number of organizational characteristics. The schools were chosen in this manner to allow for a wide variety of respondents (Babbie, 1973). Despite the fact that this sample was not randomly chosen, it is, in

Table 1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS
OF SAMPLE SCHOOLS

N=20

School Characteristic		% of Schools
Type of School	Boarding	50
	Day	50
Location of School	Rural	40
	Urban	30
	Suburban	30
Student Body Size	1 to 99	10
	100 to 199	15
	200 to 499	50
	500+	25
Faculty Size	1 to 49	65
	50 to 99	15
	100 to 199	20
Level of Instruction		
	Preschool - 12	45
	7 - 12	15
	9 - 12	40
Education Level Of Faculty (% of faculty with a Master's Degree)	0 - 39	25
	40 - 59	55
	60+	20
Student Body Gender	Male	15
	Female	10
	Coed	75

general, quite similar to the other private schools in the region, although the research schools were somewhat larger and possessed greater material assets than did the random sample schools (Tables 2 and 3).

The original research project was designed to assess administrators' and teachers' attitudes toward a variety of educational issues. Interviews were conducted with administrators at each of the schools. The questions on the Administrator Interview Guide , Part Two, were identical to those on the Teacher Questionnaire, Part Two (Appendix A). After the interview, questionnaires were put in the teachers' mail boxes and the faculty members' anonymous responses were mailed directly back to the researcher.

The items on the Teacher Questionnaire that are examined in this study are questions 1 through 6 of part two. Part Three of the questionnaire was a background data sheet for the respondents. Question 1 asked the respondents to rate the importance of various characteristics for teachers. Question 2 asked whose opinions were most important in shaping educational role models. Question 3 directed the respondent to rank order the most important qualities for the development of an outstanding teacher;

Table 2

A comparison between the research sample of day schools and a randomly selected sample of New England and Mid-Atlantic day schools.*

	Research Sample (N=10)		Random Sample (N=35)	
Variable	Range	$\bar{x}$	Range	$\bar{x}$
Enrollment	180-1,222	607	60-972	295
Faculty Size	20-192	80	8-98	69
Tuition	$2,300 $3,900	$3,222	$900 $3,600	$2,534
Plantworth	$600,000 $7,500,000	$3,052,000	$139,000 $8,980,000	$2,201,385
Endowment	$500,000 $5,100,000	$1,593,857	$20,000 $1,200,000	$427,000
Classrooms	10-71	43	6-69	22
Volumes in Library	6,700 45,000	18,422	2,000 23,800	9,333
Date of Founding	1645-1966	1863	1759-1975	1892

* Data in table is taken from Porter-Sargent's The Handbook of Private Schools, 1978.

Table 3 A comparison between the research sample of boarding schools and a randomly selected sample of New England and Mid-Atlantic boarding schools.*

	Research Sample (N=10)		Random Sample (N-12)	
Variable	Range	$\bar{x}$	Range	$\bar{x}$
Enrollment	40-1051	331	32-460	211
Faculty Size	17-190	53	8-61	29
Tuition	$2,400-$5,800	$5,180	$2,900-$6,000	$4,942
Plantworth	$1,500,000 $35,285,000	$9,846,000	$1,000,000 $14,909,000	$5,732,600
Endowment	$150,000 $13,672,000	$3,703,000	$150,000 $8,604,000	$1,561,232
Classrooms	6-90	32	7-36	22
Volumes in Library	2,600-70,000	20,480	2,500-23,800	14,409
Date of Founding	1879-1940	1906	1834-1964	1899

* Data in this table is taken from Porter-Sargent's The Handbook of Private Schools, 1978.

here, the faculty members' ideal teacher role model was measured. Question 4 was the same question about headmasters. Question 5 measured the respondents' educational attitudes in terms of various qualities or achievements that teachers might strive for; if Bowles and Gintis are correct, then this sample of teachers should consider rapport with students as more essential than maintaining classroom order. Question 6, in part, assessed the degree to which respondents emphasize professional autonomy versus conformity.

The overall return rate was 40% with a total of 382 usable returns. Table 4 indicates that the returns, by school, were representative of the sample schools except that the teachers at the larger schools tended to return the questionnaires at a higher rate than did the teachers at the smaller schools.

Table 5 outlines some of the characteristics of the teachers who returned their questionnaires. Generally, the sample consisted of well educated full time teachers in their middle thirties. Sixty-one percent of the respondents were male. As a group, the respondents were quite likely to be educated in private colleges and universities located in the New England and Middle Atlantic states. The average sample teacher had been teaching for over twelve

Table 4

Teacher Questionnaire Returns by Selected School Characteristics

(N=378)[a]

School Characteristic		% of Returns
Type of School	Boarding	51
	Day	49
Location of School		
	Rural	44
	Urban	27
	Suburban	29
Student Body Size	1 to 99	12
	100 to 199	03
	200 to 499	42
	500+	43
Faculty Size	1 to 49	37
	50 to 99	24
	100 to 199	39
Level of Instruction	Preschool - 12	45
	7 - 12	15
	9 - 12	40
Education Level of Faculty (% of faculty with a Master's Degree)	0 - 39	23
	40 - 59	40
	60+	37
Student Body Gender	Male	14
	Female	10
	Coed	76

a - The 378 returns came from 20 schools.

Table 5 Teacher Questionnaire Returns by Selected Teacher Characteristics

Teacher Characteristic	Replies		% of Returns
Sex	354	Female	39
		Male	61
Age	370	20-25	11
		26-35	38
		36-45	22
		46-55	19
		56+	10
Education	366	Less Than BA	02
		BA	33
		MA	59
		Ph.D.	04
		Other	02
Employment Status	315	Part-Time	10
		Full-Time	90
Type of Undergraduate College	319	Private	75
		Public	21
		Other	04
Location of Undergraduate College	302	New England	49
		Middle Atlantic	30
		South	03
		North Central	13
		West	01
		Foreign	04
Years Teaching in General	369	1 to 5	28
		6 to 10	26
		11 to 20	27
		21 to 43	19

Continued . . .

Table 5 cont.

Teacher Characteristic	Replies		% of Returns
Years Teaching at the Present School	368	1 to 3	34
		4 to 8	33
		9 to 21	24
		21 to 37	09
Subject Matter Area	365	Math	18
		English	17
		Science	14
		Social Studies	12
		Language	11
		Special Subjects	09
		Art	08
		Primary	05
		Physical Ed.	04
		Classics	02
Teaching Grade Levels	364	Primary to 6	19
		7 to 9	59
		10 to 12	22
Career Goal	345	Primary or Secondary Teaching	47
		School Administration	16
		Other Professional	08
		College Teaching	05
		Art & Music	04
		Unknown	12
		Other	08

years and teaching at the same school for over eight years. As a group, this sample of teachers was quite similar to the larger population of private school teachers in terms of their age, educational background, years teaching and sexual distribution (Kraushaar, 1972; Baird, 1977).

Most non-sectarian private school educators come from families where the head of the households' occupation is professional or managerial (Kraushaar, 1972). Public school teachers generally come from families less highly placed within the social structure (National Education Research Bulletin, 1972). Almost half of private school educators have attended private schools themselves. Their political orientation has been described by Kraushaar as varying shades of Republicanism (1972, 116). Administrators at non-sectarian private schools are very likely to be male, Protestant and the product of a private education. The heads of the most prestigious private schools almost all graduated from Ivy League or British universities (Porter Sargent, 1978).

The basic data analysis procedure was to rank order both the teachers' and administrators' responses to the items contained within each of the questions.

The lower the score, the higher the educator rated the item (Appendix A). By assessing the pattern of the respondents' answers, a profile of their educational attitudes could be determined. As part of the data analysis procedure, an investigation was undertaken to determine whether certain personal, professional or occupational characteristics of the teachers were related to their responses.

The Results

Question One (Table 6) - As this table indicates, private school teachers rate knowledge and ability, dedication to children and kindness as most essential to being a teacher. They rate education courses as the least essential item. Administrators rate knowledge and ability, verbal facility and independence of thought as the most important qualities in a teacher. As role models then, private school educators stress the "humanistic" attributes over professional attributes in assessing the qualities most essential to being a teacher. Somewhat surprisingly, administrators rate independence of thought higher than the teachers. In

Table 6

Question 1. How would you rate the following background characteristics or personal qualities as they apply to your profession?

Item	Teacher Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD	Administrator Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD
General Educational Background	379	1.778	5	.915	19	2.158	6	.744
Education Courses	377	3.981	10	1.084	19	4.105	10	.788
Professional Experience (Academic)	380	2.079	8	.917	18	2.444	8	1.066
Professional Experience (Non-academic)	377	2.862	9	1.127	17	2.941	9	1.110
Personal Style, Manners	376	1.830	6	.770	19	2.000	5	.918
Verbal Facility	380	1.771	4	.759	15	1.533	2	.618
Knowledge and Ability	377	1.401	1	.602	17	1.294	1	.570
Dedication to Children	379	1.507	2	.728	19	2.211	7	.950
Independence of Thought	378	2.056	7	.876	17	1.647	3	.967
Kindness	377	1.753	3	.874	13	1.667	4	.943

general, these findings are compatible with Kraushaar's characterization of private school teachers as dedicated amateurs.

Question Two (Table 7) - The responses to this question reveal that both administrators and teachers evaluate senior faculty members' opinions most highly in evaluating other faculty members. Apparently, senior faculty members are quite influential in shaping educational role models, giving private school educators a certain continuity in terms of their professional ideology. It is not unusual to find senior faculty members who have been teaching at the same school for several decades. They often possess a considerable amount of de facto authority when it comes to determining school policy. This longevity of service acts, in part, to insure a stable pattern of educational attitudes among private school educators.

Question Three (Table 8) - This question assesses the respondent's ideal teacher role model. For teachers, the ability to deal effectively with students is, by far, the most important quality for the development of an outstanding teacher. According to the administrators, moral character is the most important quality for the

Table 7

Question 2. Please rank order the groups below in terms of the importance of their opinions if you were to evaluate the professional growth of a colleague.

Item	Teacher Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD	Administrator Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD
Tenured or senior faculty members	365	1.619	1	1.130	19	1.579	1	.591
Administrators	363	3.190	2	1.550	17	1.706	2	.892
Alumni	355	5.180	5	1.584	15	5.733	6	1.289
Students	363	3.278	4	1.524	19	3.158	3	1.089
Junior faculty members	362	3.238	3	1.331	19	3.421	4	1.042
Trustees	349	6.278	7	1.100	15	5.867	7	.884
Parents	358	5.207	6	1.208	18	4.611	5	1.161

Table 8

Question 3. Please rank order the qualities listed below in terms of their importance for the development of an outstanding teacher.

Item	Teacher Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD	Administrator Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD
Moral character	372	3.726	5	1.954	18	2.000	1	1.563
Efficiency	372	5.073	6	1.596	19	4.789	6	1.360
Ability to deal effectively with students	377	1.939	1	1.412	19	2.263	2	1.207
Ability to deal effectively with parents	372	6.059	7	1.483	19	5.526	7	1.634
Tolerance and consideration	374	3.302	2	1.521	19	2.947	3	1.468
Resourcefulness	376	3.559	4	1.615	19	4.000	5	1.451
Intellectual acuity	377	3.363	3	1.698	19	3.158	4	1.496

development of an outstanding teacher. Neither teachers nor administrators rate efficiency or the ability to deal with parents very highly. The role model teachers wish to emulate appears to be the pragmatic manager of students, while the administrators emphasize the development of moral character in the making of an outstanding teacher.

Question Four (Table 9) - The ideal headmaster apparently should be of high moral character and be able to deal effectively with students. Efficiency and intellectual acuity does not appear to be particularly important in the development of an outstanding headmaster. This finding is important because it probes at the basis upon which a headmaster's authority rests. The leadership role model of the headmaster is very important in private schools because he or she has more discretionary power than do most public school principals (Kraushaar, 1972; Baird, 1977). Private school headmasters may exercise a considerable amount of personal authority within their schools, and their administrations are, generally, marked by their own individual stamps (McLachlan, 1970). The forceful charismatic leader is a quality that is generally sought after in private school headmasters.

Table 9

Question 4. Please rank order the qualities listed below in terms of their importance for the development of an outstanding headmaster.

Item	Teacher Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD	Administrator Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD
Moral character	360	3.411	2	2.151	16	1.562	1	1.273
Efficiency	360	4.239	5	1.935	16	4.062	6	1.886
Ability to deal effectively with students	366	2.954	1	1.848	16	3.625	2	1.615
Ability to deal effectively with parents	362	3.804	3	1.963	17	3.882	5	1.676
Tolerance and consideration	355	4.220	4	1.984	16	3.625	2	2.147
Resourcefulness	360	4.475	7	2.001	17	3.647	4	1.453
Intellectual acuity	360	4.461	6	2.063	17	4.353	7	1.939

Students who are being trained for "leadership" positions have, as their role models, what might be called pragmatic moralists. This may be one of the moral and cultural traits that Mills suggests private schools encourage in students.

Question Five (Table 10) - The teachers rate grasp of subject matter, enhancing academic performance and rapport with students as the most important qualities of good teaching, while administrators stress rapport, personal stability and classroom order. Administrators, in other words, emphasize the personal characteristics of teachers as most important, while teachers emphasize academic abilities and experience. Both teachers and administrators maintain that the ability to maintain classroom order is a relatively essential characteristic of a good teacher. Adherence to school policy, however, is not thought to be too important. Rule following, in other words, is not a behavior that private school educators consider to be very valuable.

Question Six (Table 11) - According to this question, teachers' professional autonomy is favored over conformity by both teachers and administrators. Of all the issues listed in this question, teachers and admin-

Table 10

Question 5. If you had a chance to evaluate your fellow faculty members how would you rate the importance of the qualities or achievements listed below?

Item	Teacher Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD	Administrator Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD
Maintains classroom order	373	2.340	5	.911	18	1.667	3	.745
Has rapport with students	377	1.751	3	.782	18	1.278	1	.448
Enhances student's academic performance	375	1.677	2	.673	18	1.722	4	.989
Establishes cooperative relationships with other faculty members	378	2.698	7	.931	18	2.111	7	.936
Adheres to school policy	376	2.742	9	.995	18	2.222	8	1.083
Maintains friendly relations with parents	377	3.284	11	.899	18	2.889	10	.875
Develops innovative teaching techniques	377	2.740	8	1.098	18	3.000	11	1.000
Is willing to participate in extracurricular activities	376	2.907	10	1.076	17	2.059	6	.998
Is personally stable	377	1.841	4	.919	18	1.333	2	.745
Has strong leadership qualities	378	2.696	6	1.059	17	2.882	9	.900
Grasps subject matter	378	1.452	1	.654	15	1.733	5	.680

Table 11

Question 6. The following series of statements relate to school life and teachers in particular.

Item	Teacher Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD	Administrator Responses N	$\bar{X}$	Rank	SD
Generally, teachers do not work best when closely supervised.	373	2.464	6	1.149	19	2.579	5	1.498
A teacher should not be expected to be a "pal" with his or her students.	375	1.845	3	1.125	16	2.000	4	1.458
A good teacher has to be entertaining.	375	2.989	7	1.267	15	3.067	8	1.181
It's very important for teachers to have well organized daily lesson plans.	376	2.327	5	1.247	19	2.789	7	1.436
Teachers should be free to speak publically on important social issues.	379	1.744	1	1.033	18	1.333	1	.577
Teachers should play an important part in helping the administration run the school.	378	2.061	4	1.076	19	1.579	2	.936
Teachers are very important in shaping the moral character of their students.	380	1.808	2	.969	18	1.611	3	.951
Teachers should be very careful about expressing their personal opinions in the classroom.	371	3.027	8	1.425	17	2.647	6	1.678

istrators agreed most with the proposition that teachers should be free to speak out on social issues. Both administrators and teachers were in agreement that teachers were very important in shaping the moral character of their students.

What these six questions appear to indicate is that:

1. The educational attitudes of teachers and administrators at these private schools are relatively homogeneous. The teachers are somewhat more subject matter oriented than the administrators, while the administrators are somewhat more concerned with teachers' personal qualities than are the faculty members.

2. The professional ideology of private school educators assessed here is compatible with Kraushaar's characterization of dedicated amateurism. Private school educators are relatively unconcerned with the bureaucratic certification process that is common in public schools.

3. The content of this amateurism, as it relates to private school educators' views of authority relations, appears to be compatible with the kind of attitude that Bowles and Gintis hypothesize occurs in

schools where students are headed for professional and managerial careers. Overall, teachers emphasize persuasion (rapport, kindness) in encouraging students to develop internalized sets of values. Moral training is central to the private school's mission. The headmaster, at one private school, introduced his school's curriculum as follows:

> Moral training consists of facing up honestly and directly to challenges, some exhilarating some painful... Schools do not build character; situations do. To the extent that the School provides situations that involve genuine challenge, it encourages the testing and strengthening of character. To the extent that the School honors positive actions that are at the same time sensitive to the needs of others, it encourages the formation of a system of values. To the degree that it insists on honest acceptance of the consequences of one's actions, the School enhances ethical maturity.

In sum, the private school educators' role model for students is one that emphasizes moral character and the humane treatment of others, rather than certification

efficiency and coercion. The values of initiative, independence and dignity are stressed. If these attitudes are reflective of these educators' behaviors, than private schools are encouraging students to internalize the kinds of values that are hypothesized to be associated with the managerial and professional classes (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Kohn, 1969).

As part of the data analysis, procedures were undertaken to determine if certain personal and professional characteristics of teachers were associated with their educational attitudes. The four characteristics analyzed were sex, years teaching, subject matter and type of college from which the respondent graduated. Generally, there was no pattern of correlates that would indicate that any of these factors were related to the educational attitude items on the questionnaire. Women tended to favor, somewhat more friendly relations with others than did the men, while the men stressed moral character more highly than the women did in rating the traits of an outstanding teacher. More experienced teachers also rated moral character higher than did the less experienced teachers. Subject matter was not related to educational attitudes except in the case of the classics teachers who had

relatively little use for education courses, non-academic experience, the opinions of administrators and friendly relations with parents. The post secondary educational background of the teacher was not related to his or her educational attitudes.

An analysis was also undertaken to determine if teachers' educational attitudes were related to certain organizational characteristics of the schools in which they worked. The four organizational items considered were type (boarding vs. day), size, coed vs. single sex schools and level (primary, secondary, comprehensive).

There was no pattern of correlates to indicate that these organizational characteristics of the sample schools were related to teachers' educational attitudes. Boarding school teachers tended to rate students' opinions higher than day school teachers and day school teachers thought it wiser to be careful about expressing their views in the classroom.

In brief, the educational attitudes of private school teachers do not vary widely according to their personal or professional characteristics or the organizational characteristics of their schools. There are two major explanations for this finding: one, is that the partic-

ular background and organizational items utilized in this study were not the right ones to examine if differences between teachers' attitudes were to be uncovered. The other explanation is that, as a group, private school teachers are remarkably unified in their educational attitudes. Variations in their opinions are not dramatic and are not related to their background characteristics or conditions of employment. In any case, more study is needed on this subject before these questions can be satisfactorily answered.

As was seen earlier, public school teachers differ from private school teachers in terms of their family backgrounds. Do they also differ in their educational attitudes? Do public school teacher's educational attitudes vary according to the social class background of their school's student body? Unfortunately, this study does not include a sample of public school teachers so that these questions could not be directly addressed. Indirect evidence from other studies indicates that there is reason to hypothesize that public school teachers may differ from private school teachers in their educational attitudes (Rosenbaum, 1976; Lortie, 1975; Bowles and Gintis, 1976). When Lortie, for instance, examined the attitudes of public school teachers concerning classroom

discipline, he found the following;

> Although some respondents stress the desirability of independence of mind, most allusions to moral outcomes and citizenship emphasize compliance and obedience. Connecting compliance with classroom norms to future citizenship authenticates the teacher's control efforts. Thus, discipline becomes more than mere forbidding and ordering; the dross of classroom management is transformed into the gold of dependable citizenship (1975, 113).

If Lortie's findings are reflective of how public school teachers view authority relations within their classrooms, then differences between private school educators and public school educators may be significant in terms of their professional ideologies.

Conclusion

This exploratory study examined the educational attitudes of private school educators at twenty eastern private schools. The research objectives were to assess the role model teachers at these schools wished to

present to students, Teachers would see themselves, it was hypothesized, as dedicated amateurs primarily interested in setting intellectual and moral standards for themselves and their students. The internalization of individual morality would be preferred to simple obedience in these schools, In short, the educational attitudes of private school educators would correspond to the cultural values that Bowles and Gintis hypothesize, characterize the professional and managerial class. The major findings were as follows:

1. The educational attitudes of private school educators are relatively homogeneous.

2. Kraushaar's characterization of private school educators as dedicated amateurs appears to be confirmed.

3. Private school educators stress character development and autonomy for themselves and for their students as against simple obedience and rule following.

In sum, this very preliminary evidence seems to indicate that private school educators have a cohesive professional ideology that might well contribute to the stratified consciousness that Bowles and Gintis hypothesize exists

in the Unites States today, Private schools may be contributing to the cultural reproduction process through their links to other social institutions and also in their internal processes which socialize students for certain positions within the class structure. The transmission of certain moral and cultural traits may be one of the functions of private schools. The examination of the internal processes of different types of American schools, especially the professional ideologies of the educators, may help to illuminate how schools contribute to the cultural reproduction process and, possibly, to social inequality. Large scale research with well tested instruments is needed before this question can be fully explored. Educators' behaviors should be examined as well as their attitudes, and public and private school educators should be directly compared.

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